/406 cont./

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> /footnote 140 cont./ take off the shirt and quickly leap into the water with their pants or trunks. Those who are still in a more primitive condition do not have any fear of wetting their own clothes...

that appears nearby and, with a push on the edge, makes it overcome the current, and then, in an agile jump, comes back again inside the canoe and grasps his oar. In other circumstances all the passengers must coast among the indentations of the bank, while the crew pushes the canoe upstream; or, by means of tow-ropes, pulled strongly from the rocks, they force it to go up the small cachoeiras. Or further, they unload all the baggage, and both the load and the canoe will be transported across difficult shortcuts as far as the upper part of the cachoeiras, and from there they resume normal navigation.

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Chapter VIII

Social Organization

1. -- Family Group

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The native family of the Uaupés, in the most strict and perfect sense, consists of husband, wife, and children. Indissoluble monogamy is in force among them, that is, each man will have his legitimate wife, and they are joined until death by an indissoluble bond, once the conditions prescribed by the law of the tribe are satisfied.

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Such will be the family, whether each one lives in its house, according to the modern tendency, or whether several families are united in the communitarian life of the maloca.

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Not rarely the dissension within a group provokes schisms, bringing as a result the departure of the dissidents, who go to build a new maloca or povoado farther away.

It is probable that originally each maloca was, in a strict sense, a family, in which the sons remained beside the father, and under his direction, even after they were married. We thus conceive the local group as being originally an agnatic community. There is, as a matter of fact, an expression current among the natives: "I am a person of N," and he says the name of the tuxaua himself.

[178] At present the two forms of local grouping are found: either everyone lives under one and the same roof, the maloca; or each family has its own residence, the povoados resulting. It is to be noted, however, that there are povoados only on the banks of the large rivers and through the influence and under the protection of the catechesis.

• [594] /459/ In one form or another, however, the families constitute distinct groups and, what is even more remarkable in the regime of the maloca, autonomous ones. One understands the reason for this autonomy: there is in the tribes of the Uaupés a fusion of the two "ateliers," the masculine one (of fishing) and the feminine one (tiller), which complement each other and are sufficient for the maintenance of the family.

b) The social organization.

The gregarious life that the forest dwellers live demands the observance of certain norms establishing the relations among the individuals, or a certain social organization is necessary.

These relationships are, besides, quite natural, due to the very simplicity of the life they lead; and, on the other hand, are religiously observed. They are all customary, that is, practiced by custom, and it can not be learned whether they were given by a legislator, Wãx-tí, as the legends teach; or whether, on the contrary, they were customs introduced naturally and which experience approved, established, and made inviolable. Or whether

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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formed by fission or are aliens who have been adopted by a "parent" sib.

A sib is formed of patrilineal lineages that go back no more than three or four generations. Since a sib itself is small, a lineage is of minor importance. The most significant component units of a sib are the fraternal joint families and the nuclear households. A group of brothers of the same father are held together by very firm ties of common upbringing and regard themselves as very close to one another. The households of this fraternal group are distinguishable, not jurally but *de facto*, as separate entities within the sib. When a sib splits, it is the fraternal group that offers the most ready line of cleavage. Finally, there is the nuclear household, a most important unit that occupies its own "compartment" in the maloca, maintains its own hearth, and is capable also of asserting its autonomy. A nuclear household may break from the common residence group of the maloca and establish itself as an Independent, but that is about as far from the sib as it can go. It is not a truly self-sustaining unit. When it does break away, the separation is a consequence of serious disaffection, from the Cubeo point of view, an example of social pathology. Detached nuclear households often become vagrants, imposing upon the hospitality of related sibs.

What I have presented is an outline of Cubeo social organization that encompasses a descending order of subordinate and component segments, from tribe to nuclear household. There is another social concept that falls somewhat outside of this structure. That is the concept of community. The community is the common residence group, based, to be sure, upon the sib, but not exclusively so. Common residence creates its own norms of behavior.

THE COMMUNITY

The concept of community offers perhaps the most advantageous entry into the character of Cubeo social structure; it exemplifies almost all social relationships and relates them to the physical factors of location, economy, and material culture.

From the air, a community appears as a small semicircular island pressed against a thread of river in an otherwise unbroken expanse of tropical forest. The air view emphasizes the isolation and self-containment of each community. Along a well-populated river such as the Cuduiarí the communities resemble rough-shaped beads widely spaced along the thin strand of the sinuously curving river. The river literally binds the communities since, in the main, communities

61 ity, each tribe is aligned with one of five phratries. Each phratry is a named, exogamous group of sibs that marries into the other phratries in the area. A phratry is not a political or ceremonial unit per se.

592 61 • 594 The basic political and ceremonial unit of the Northwest Amazon is the longhouse group, which is also the basic unit of economic redistribution. (The nuclear family is the basic economic unit *before* redistribution.) A new longhouse unit is often created by several classificatory brothers, not necessarily from the same parent longhouse. The one among them who is felt to have the best leadership qualifications becomes chief of the new longhouse group. Sometimes, also, a growing lineage group establishes a new longhouse, with its patriarch as chief. (Each nuclear family has its own area in the longhouse, and each married woman has her own hearth in this area; her husband smokes his fish and game on a rack lowered from the rafters above her hearth. All men and boys are served at one time at the center front of the longhouse by the women, who bring what they have individually prepared at their hearths, including some of their husbands' fish and game, and lay it out for all the men to share. After the men have eaten, the women and girls eat. Then each woman reclaims her own prepared food and what is left of her husband's catch.) A well-established longhouse group becomes, over a period of time, a cluster of lineages. A tribe is represented by a series of longhouses, located several hours' paddling distance apart from each other along a river and often situated at rapids for good fishing.

[251] [354] [264] [562] 61

619 197 The tribe is co-extensive with the linguistic group, which is composed of those individuals who are expected to have used the language as their principal language when they were children in their nuclear family of orientation. The language that identifies the linguistic group is, then, at once the father tongue, the longhouse language, and the tribal language of each member; it is *not* the language that identifies the mother's linguistic group.

61 582 The exogamic group is the phratry. Cultural emphasis is more on nonendogamy within the phratry than on prescribed exogamic alliances among the phratries (although suggestions of such may be found among some of the tribes). Informants, however, claim that the unit of exogamy is the tribe. The few exceptional cases of tribes whose sibs belong

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